

# The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 18,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

I PROMISED you in my Sixth Number, that I would lay before you every thing of importance that occurred in the Parliament in the present Session. The first thing that did occur, as a matter of course, was the King's Speech; but as it was, what it has ever been, an unmeaning thing, a mere thing of form and ceremony, words of sound without meaning, thrown together to tinkle in the ears of empty heads, I shall not copy it here. This speech was no sooner uttered, than down came Castlereagh with two new laws for Ireland, or one it may be called, which legislates that the people of Ireland shall perish quietly, or be transported to Botany Bay without trial, charge, or any waiting for the commission of offence: that is to say, they are not to be out of their hovels after sun set, or before sun-rise, without being liable to be sent on board a convict ship, and that in chains to Botany Bay, or to some other part of New South Wales, and if it be the pleasure of their tyrants, they are to be imprisoned with or without cause, and, to a certainty, without redress: the whole of which signifies, that the magistrates of Ireland have power absolute over the lives and properties of every human being that treads the Irish soil, as much as the Grand Turk has absolute power over the lives and properties of his slaves.

These laws, or this law, was passed in violation of all the usual forms of legislating, that is, they were hurried through both Houses of Parliament within thirty-six hours, and received the Royal Assent, as it is called, at the first moment that it could be given.

In this affair Castlereagh was seen to dance and fidget with delight. He was in the very element that always ex-

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bilarates him, and the only element that can warm his cold blood. If Milton had lived in our days, or had seen a Castlereagh in his, he might have added a new feature to his Devil, or have placed an entire new character in his Pandemonium.

The readers of newspapers are apt to be filled with horror at the conduct of the Irish Insurgents, as they are called, but their horror ought to be transferred towards the tyrants and robbers of Irishmen, and sympathy alone be felt for the latter. A Correspondent has furnished me with a picture of Priestcraft in Ireland, which developes the whole cause of Irish misery, and fully justifies the cry of Irishmen as to "No Tithes." Similar statements have been published in various papers, but none that has come under my view has displayed so fully the real cause of all the disquietudes of Ireland. I give it insertion here just as I have received it, and I have every reason to believe its accuracy in a general point of view. It will be here seen that the miseries of Ireland are to be placed to the account of Kingcraft and Priestcraft alone. This is the cause of all human misery.

*Some Account of the Revenues of the Established Church of Ireland.*

The Archbishops and Bishops are in number twenty-two, and their Revenues are estimated, as under-mentioned:—

	Revenue, per Annum. £.
Archbishop of Armagh .....	14,000
Dublin .....	14,000
Tuam .....	9,700
Cashel .....	9,000
Bishop of Clogher .....	9,000
Dromore .....	6,500
Down .....	7,000
Derry .....	15,000
Kilmore .....	7,000
Meath .....	8,000
Raphoe .....	10,000
Ferns .....	8,000
Kildare .....	8,000
Ossory .....	6,000
Cloyne .....	7,000
Cork .....	6,500
Killaloe .....	7,000
Limerick .....	8,000



	£.
Bishop of Waterford .....	8,000
Clonfert .....	4,000
Elphin .....	12,000
Killala .....	4,000
	<hr/>
	187,700

By far the greater part of these enormous incomes arise from estates belonging to the different sees, and a very small part only from tithes. The incumbents are restrained from granting leases for a longer term than twenty-one years, but they have obtained an Act of Parliament enabling them to renew the leases every third or seventh year, on receiving a fine or grass sum. This system has been almost universally adopted, and, consequently, the apparent rental, is much below the real rental. Mr. Wakefield is of opinion, that the lands belonging to the following sees would, if fairly let, bring the sums attached to their names: viz.

	Per Annum. £.
The Primacy .....	140,000
Bishopric of Derry .....	120,000
Kilmore .....	100,000
Clogher .....	100,000
Waterford .....	70,000

The real rental of the whole of the ecclesiastical property in Ireland, amounts to upward of one million a year.

During the last twenty years, the Parliament of the United Kingdom, has granted the sum of one million of pounds sterling, for the purchase of glebes, and the repair and erection of churches in Ireland, beside large sums in stock and debentures for the same purpose.

Number of Parishes in Ireland .....	2,246
Living in the Gift of the Bishops .....	1,470
Crown .....	293
Laymen .....	367
College .....	21

Amount per Annum.  
£.

Archbishop of Cashel	35,000
Cloyne	50,000
Ferns	30,000

The Bishop of Cloyne has in his gift one living, producing £3,000 a year; one, £2,000 a year;—and three, £1,500 a year each.

The Deanery of Down produces, per year ....	£. 3,700
Number of beneficed Clergy in Ireland .....	1,309
Average Amount of their Livings, per annum ...	£. 800

Living's are considered low, if not more than £500 a year each.

Aggregate Amount of the Revenues of the beneficed Clergy of Ireland, per annum..... £1,047,200

Before the Reformation by Henry VIII. one-fourth of the tithes was applied to the benefit of the bishops; one-fourth to the clergy; one-fourth to the poor; and the remaining one-fourth to the repair of the churches. Now the clergy swallow up the whole, and in Ireland, leave the poor destitute, as there are no poor-laws as in England.

The grants of the Government to the Public Protestant Schools of Ireland amount to from £40,000 to £50,000 a year, beside an old grant of land which produces £6,000 a year. These grants are independent of all emoluments derived from charters.

The total expence of the Protestant Established Church of Ireland is considerably above Two Millions a year, and it is supposed to be the richest church in Europe.

Population of Ireland is estimated at.....	6,000,000
Catholics five-sixths, or.....	5,000,000
Protestants one-sixth, or.....	1,000,000
Protestant Dissenters.....	700,000
Followers of the Established Church about	
one-twentieth, or.....	300,000

N. B. Some estimate the last at 400,000 or 500,000.

The Protestant Dissenters in the north of Ireland pay very little of tithes, and in some places nothing; so that the burthen of the Protestant establishment is, almost exclusively, thrown on the Catholic population, who derive no benefit from the Protestant schools, nor ever attend the established Protestant churches, and having their own clergy to provide for besides. One instance has occurred of a Bishop who enjoyed all his revenues till his death, and never even saw Ireland. Another instance, of recent date, of a Bishop retaining the whole of his emoluments and residing twenty years abroad. Pluralities are common; and often the Rector never lives in the parish, or even in Ireland, and is, in course, unknown to his parishioners. The tithes are collected by persons termed tithe-proctors, who are, as relates to tithes, the same as middle-men as to rents. Sometimes the tithes are farmed by the tithe-proctor, and are frequently let by private contract, or by auction, to the highest bidder.

By a vote of the Irish House of Commons, in the year 1735, all who in future should pay tithes on pasture land were declared enemies to their country. Since that period, the vast and magnificent pleasure-grounds and parks of the wealthy, the powerful, and the titled, have contributed nothing to any glebe, nor paid either church-rate or tithe: while the miserable Catholic peasant, in his mud hovel, occupying at an enormous rack-rent the smallest portion of the soil, on which to grow potatoes for his almost starving children, is tithed with inexorable rigour. If he is unable



to pay the composition for tithe when due, it is customary to take a promissory note for the payment, to allow him time as it is called, at the expiration of which, if, as often happens, he is still unprepared, he signs what is usually denominated a Kerry bond, when on the first failure of payment at the time specified, by a speedy process his miserable furniture, the remainder of his crop of potatoes, and his hog or cow, if he has either, are all seized, and irrecoverably swept off together, and he, with his wife, and clamorous and famishing children, turned out of doors!

Oh system! the envy of surrounding nations! the admiration of the world! Alas! poor Greece!!! poor Ireland!!!

Thus far my Correspondent, and to him I respond, alas! poor Ireland! and may you imitate Greece! for Ireland has found something worse than a Turkish Government in that of Britain. The condition of the Greeks under the Ottoman empire was never half so bad as that of Irishmen under this Government; and in their struggle for a better condition I sincerely hope they may be equally successful. Those who are now called Insurgents, or Rebels, or White Boys, or Captain Rock's men, are justifiable in every step they have taken. Owing to the system of pillage and tyranny that grinds them to the earth, their life is a complete state of wretchedness, and they fare much worse than the dogs and cattle of their Robbers and Tyrants. Death or liberty is an alternative that every man should seek, but death to an Irishman is ten times more desirable than his present state of existence; and it is from suffering alone that we find them driven to such excesses. Painful as it is to read of the massacres committed, still it must be acknowledged that there is more of humanity in the conduct of the Insurgents than in that of their Tyrants. The first principle of the Insurgents is evidently humanity, the next is self-defence and self-preservation. Those are the outragers of humanity who have kept Ireland in such a miserable state, or who, by an unnatural union of the Government of the two Islands, have capped the climax of the miseries of both.

Read the foregoing estimates of the reveuues of the Priests, then judge what is drained for taxes and parochial and county rates, and you will not wonder at what Irish White Boys are doing. As a toast in this Number expresses, they ought rather to be designated the Right Boys; and that such they may prove, in spite of Castlereagh's Insurrection Bill and Absolute Power of Imprisonment Bill, is a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Another measure of the Ministers has been developed in

the Parliament respecting the relief to be afforded to the overtaxed Agriculturists, and what think you, Republicans, that it is? Why the first proposition is an admission that the Farmers are too heavily taxed; that they are so heavily taxed they cannot pay the demands upon them; and how do you think they are to be relieved? By reducing the taxes you will naturally suppose. No such thing! Castlereagh has caught the lore that taxation to any extent is not an evil, and that it is only necessary to enable the payer to pay to make him prosperous and happy; and whether he can do it out of the profits of his industry, or by borrowing money, is all one to Castlereagh. Well, what do you think? That master-piece of intellect, the present Administration of Government, is about to lend Four Millions to the Farmers to enable them to pay their taxes; and they are to mortgage the little property they have left to obtain this loan. Wonderful relief! But what are they to do next year, when they have no property to mortgage, will another loan be made without any kind of security? I think not. Nothing can tend to a more absolute despotism than this measure, for it will be calculated to make the whole land, with both live and dead stock, the property either of the Bank Company or the Government; and when this becomes the case, although they will possess the land upon terms very similar to what we read in the Jew-Book of Genesis, Joseph did with the Farmers of Egypt, still I fear they will not rent it out again at one-fifth of the produce as he did. Our modern Pharaohs are far more despotic and cruel than they were of old. The simile is striking in the two cases, as to the miseries of the people and the schemes of the Government, with the exception, that the distress in Egypt arose from famine, and in England it arises, as the wise ones say, from a redundancy of produce. Joseph talked about trusting to the God Jehovah, and Castlereagh begins to talk about the assistance of Nature, as if Nature was to bring him and his associates relief whilst they are constantly at war with every natural right and feeling. He who outrages every principle of Nature, and has done ever since he has held power, is now beginning to invoke Nature, and Providence, and the English Farmers, to aid him in destroying themselves! Wonderful Castlereagh! How any man, with a spark of humanity and fellow feeling, could sit and hear his jargon about the relief of the Agriculturists, I am at a loss to conceive. An honest man must have burst forth in indignation at every half a dozen sentences he utter-



ed. There certainly is a total absence of humanity and honourable feeling in that Parliament. All is a scheme of robbery and division of plunder. But this loan of Four Millions is to be made to the Overseers of Parishes, upon the security of the Parish Rates, and to be paid back again by instalments at short notices: that is, whenever the Government thinks proper to demand payment of any portion, or the whole of the loan, the necessary sum must be levied in the shape of Parochial Rates, and then those who borrow nothing will have to pay their share as well as those who borrow largely! Admirable system! Joseph with all his foresight, cunning, wisdom, and divine inspiration, was a fool to Castlereagh!

On reading the particulars of this loan I was filled with delight at the scheme, as it supersedes the necessity of the loan I have solicited in another part of this publication. Surely, I said to myself, I have friends enough in this country among Farmers and Overseers of Parishes to furnish me with a sufficient portion of these Four Millions (which are to be scattered for the good of the people) to cover my fines. Surely, I shall be able to borrow £1500 out of the Four Millions, or fifteen of my friends can do it for me by hundreds. I shall then be able to pay the Crown in its own coin. It is a well-timed scheme for me, if I do not mistake; and I charge all my friends to look well after this money, and give me the best assistance they can with it. It is a giving back of plunder, and I have a claim upon £3000 of it; but as I am confined, my friends must catch it up for me.

The Farmers have now nothing to do but to give up all their substance to Castlereagh, and he, like Joseph of old, will dole out their daily bread or potatoes to them. If they do not grumble or make much noise, they may occasionally get a little sour milk, as the poor Irishmen seek as a luxury. Castlereagh certainly strives hard to enforce a uniformity of opinions and manners, and it seems that his dear Ireland is to be the example or the pattern for union. Instead of putting Ireland upon the same footing as England, as was promised and expected at the Union, it appears we mistook his meaning, and that England is to be brought to the condition of Ireland, to prevent all jealousy between the inhabitants of both countries as to superiority. Every thing at present tends to this point, and if Castlereagh can bring "the working of events" in his mind into action, he will certainly reduce the Farmers of England to the condition of the Pea-

santry in Ireland, for we hear of no such things as Irish Farmers.

Republicans, hold fast the good faith : our prospects daily brighten. Nature is on our side, and not on that of Castle-reagh : he must appeal to his Idols and not to our God. Be steady, be ready to take advantage of all his working of events, and be assured and cheered with the idea that the hour of your triumph can no longer be delayed. It is fated ; it is fixed ; and will come at its proper time.

R. CARLILE.

## 'CELEBRATION OF THE 29TH OF JANUARY, 1822.

*The Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Paine.*

### LONDON.

At a numerous and highly respectable meeting held in London, the following Toasts and Sentiments were delivered.

Mr. BOWES in the Chair.

1. The Immortal Memory of Mr. Thomas Paine, may the Sons of Liberty ever cherish his Name.

An excellent Poetical Address was spoken by Mr. Dunstone to the Company, and the Address of the former year called for and repeated.

2. May the Works of Mr. Paine be read by every Tyrant and Bigot, and while they read may they vanish.

Scotch Song.—“ An honest independent mind may look and laugh at a' that.”

3. Richard Carlile, the intrepid Asserter of Republican principles, and Propagator of the Theological and Political Writings of Paine.

Mr. Henman rose to return thanks for Mr. Carlile, and addressed the Company as follows :

“ Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : After this enthusiastic unison displayed on the announcement of the name of Richard Carlile, I felt impelled to rise to thank you for coupling that name with the name of our immortal countrymen, Thomas Paine. I am glad to see you have done this, because you have shown yourselves capable of appreciating the advantages derived from the late extended publication of the writings of that truly great man, and their importance in the cause of freedom. Your enemies have repeated their efforts to suppress those works, but the man, whose name you have just toasted, declares they shall not, so long as the public will stand by him and support him. The cause is yours, stand by him, give him your support, and he will still continue to fight your battles. Whilst you are gaining the advantage and the satisfaction of his exertions, he is suffering with his wife and sister in a prison, and content to suffer, whilst he can see the principles, which you have now met to countenance, gaining ground. Gentlemen, for Mr. Carlile and for myself, I return you thanks.

4. The immortal Memory of General Washington and American Independence.
5. May the World soon be blessed with Representative Systems of Government founded on the solid basis of Liberty, Equality, and the indefeasible Rights of Man.



The last toast called forth a torrent of eloquence from Mr. Gale Jones, to which we cannot profess to do common justice. After some prefatory observations, he remarked, that if any man deserved more thanks than another for an open avowal and propagation of Republican principles, that man was Richard Carlile. Shakspeare had written and Garrick had spoken, and what Garrick was to Shakspeare, that was Carlile to Paine. Garrick by his eloquence gave an additional splendour to the writings of Shakspeare; Carlile by his courage, has dispelled the prejudice and bigotry which overwhelmed the writings of Paine; and now this greatest of all moral dramatic writers, and this greatest of all moral political writers, are exhibited as monuments of imperishable British genius and honesty, exciting our equal admiration and imitation. Mr. Jones avowed his opinions to be in unison with those of Carlile and Paine: declared he would never more attend any hustings to support the election of any man, unless he stood forward as the avowed advocate of Republican principles; nor would he ever again talk of sending men into the House of Parliament to reform it. It was all a delusion. The only way of reforming it was for a hundred thousand men to go to their doors, turn the rogues out, lock up the place, and throw the keys into the Thames. He would not approach them on any other condition.

He reminded the company that there was a little house in the city that defied as yet the united efforts of the whole government. It was held out that a violent entry would be made by a new law, or against law, but he hoped they would come forward with every possible assistance, or forget that they had read the works of Paine and Carlile. The object of the despots would be not only to crush Mr. Carlile, but every man who followed him in the same line. They know well that if such a shop as Mr. Carlile's be kept open, it will soon put them all down: for whatever be their power, in a physical point of view, they cannot stand against a single Printing Press, that continually disseminates common sense and sound reason. He therefore hoped they would rally round Mr. Carlile, as the most important post to be defended. We have given but a faint and very brief outline of this speech which drew forth the plaudits of the company incessantly, and continued long after Mr. Jones sat down.

6. The sevenfold Shield of Protection against the despotism of Priests, Tyrants and Boroughmongers—a free and unlimited Press.

7. Mrs. Carlile, Mary Ann Carlile, and the Female Patriots of the Country.

Mr. Henman again addressed the Company to thank them for the last toast, passed some encomiums on the females whose names had been mentioned, and on the importance of cherishing the exertions of females generally. He characterized in strong language the sufferings that had been inflicted on Mrs. Carlile, and expressed his admiration of her fortitude, and hoped that the example set by those two females would be followed by others, and not go unrewarded.

8. To Thomas commonly called Lord Cochrane: the disinterested Simon Bolivar; and success to the total emancipation of South America.

Song, by Mr. Bowes.—“Auld lang syne.”

9. May our Religion be the Religion of Nature, which is sufficient for our own happiness, and that of all men.

10. The immortal Memories of Wallace, Bruce, and Burns.

11. May the Irish White Boys prove the Right Boys to redress their wrongs and restore the long lost liberties of their country.

12. Success to the free cause of Spain and Portugal and may the Greeks gain their liberty.

Song, by Mr. Henman.

13. Success to the persecuted and imprisoned Victims of Tyranny and Superstition in every quarter of the Globe.

14. Speedy downfall to Kingcraft, Priestcraft, and Craft of every kind, which has a tendency to delude and enslave mankind.

Thanks having been voted to the Chairman for his impartial conduct, the Company separated after spending the evening with great conviviality.



### EDINBURGH.

Edinburgh, 4th day of February, in the Year 1822,

SIR,

of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

ACCORDING to my promise I hereby send you an account of the second anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, held in this City, upon Tuesday last, the 29th January, when nearly fifty Freethinkers assembled in a Tavern, in High Street, about 6 o'clock in the evening. Mr. David Leitch was called to the Chair; after which we partook of an excellent dinner; and the whole was conducted upon the true principles of Republicanism, as five shillings per man covered all our expences; and after the cloth was removed, the following toasts were expressed, and drank with enthusiasm:

1. The immortal Memory of Thomas Paine.
2. May the Will of the People, expressed by true Representatives, be the Law of the Land.
3. A speedy downfall to all Governments that are supported by Priests and Spies.
4. The Reformers of Great Britain, who have been, and are still suffering for their exertions in the cause of Liberty.
5. A speedy Relief from the Oppression and Imposition of an established Clergy.
6. The Republicans of Hayti, and may the Blacks convince the World that they are more deserving of Freedom than the slave-dealing Whites.
7. May the Efforts of the Philosopher and Man of Science, drive from the World that Superstition which has enslaved and brutalized Mankind.
8. May Synagogues and Churches be turned into Temples of Reason and Science.
9. May Christians abandon slavery; though their Founder had not the humanity to forbid it.
10. The Universal Liberty of the Press, none need fear it but those who are guilty.
11. Mr. Richard Carlile, the upright and undaunted Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty, may his exertions be successful and his sufferings rewarded.
12. Mrs. Carlile, and Miss Mary Ann Carlile, and all those Females who have stood forward in the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty.
13. Mr. Carlile's invisible Shopman, and all the others who have voluntarily come forward to keep open the Temple of Reason.
14. The old veteran Major Cartwright.
15. Mr. Wooler, the bold and undaunted Advocate of Reform.
16. Mr. Cobbett, and may he live to see a Monument raised in honour of Thomas Paine, and the bones of that injured Philanthropist faithfully deposited under it.
17. Mr. Hunt, and the Great Northern Union, may they apply their Funds to the best advantage.

There were many other toasts, with very appropriate tunes, and several excellent songs, besides some new pieces of poetry composed by gentlemen of the party expressly for the occasion; one of which I have inserted for publication; and the evening was spent with the greatest harmony and conviviality until twelve o'clock; when the company broke up, highly gratified



with the proceedings of the night; indeed it might be called altogether a mental feast; for my own part, I can safely say, that I never was in a more intelligent and agreeable company. Such meetings, Sir, if more general, would be of great advantage to the cause of liberty; but there is little doubt that kings and priests and those drones who fatten on the credulity and stupidity of their fellow men; will bellow forth their hatred to such assemblies, but they may puff themselves up like swelled toads, and spit their venom against the wind, and it will fly in their own faces, but can never do any material injury to the friends of freedom, while they act with union, firmness, circumspection, and perseverance to obtain the rights of man, and free inquiry and discussion on every subject, all which we will ultimately obtain in despite of their combinations and Christianlike persecutions, which are the grand causes of promoting our object.

I have inclosed you five pounds being the remainder of a subscription of seven pound, two of which I remitted to you at a former period: and the following is a list of the Subscribers which you are at liberty to publish.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
*James Affleck	0	10	6	John Young, a poor Weaver,			
*Robert Affleck	0	10	6	who was attempted to taste			
*William Hay	0	10	6	that forbidden fruit, <i>Reason</i> ,			
*David Leitch	0	10	6	by M. Volney	0	5	0
*John M'Niven	0	16	0	David Dervan, an Enemy to			
M. W. Mountcastle	0	14	0	all Persecution	0	2	0
Wm. Mountcastle	0	10	0	James Sandiland	0	1	6
An Enemy to Cant and Hypocrisy	0	7	6	George M'Latchie	0	2	6
Adam Crawford	0	6	6	Thomas Petine, a decided			
John Kesson	0	6	6	Enemy to Kingcraft and			
David Finlay	0	2	6	Priestcraft	0	1	6
Thomas Finlay	0	2	0	Duncan Cameron	0	1	0
Nicol Alexander	0	3	0	Thomas Richardson	0	1	0
Thomas Moir	0	3	0	John M'George	0	1	0
Alexander Gray, a Sceptic	0	2	6	James M'Intosh	0	2	0
James Dunkell	0	1	0	A Friend to Civil and Reli-			
Clark Hastie	0	1	0	gious Liberty	0	1	6
Ebenezer Smith	0	2	6	Andrew Lauder	0	1	0

N. B. Those marked with a star, are most of the friends who subscribed the first Ten Pound to you.

I shall be happy to receive a letter from you as soon as convenient, for I assure you, to correspond with you gives me great pleasure. My kindest respects to Mrs. Carlile, and your sister Mary Ann, and believe me, dear Sir, your true friend,

J. AFFLECK.

*Song, composed by Adam Crawford, for the Occasion of celebrating the Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Paine.*

Air.—“IN THE DEAD OF THE NIGHT.”

WHEN Kingcraft and Priestcraft move hand in hand,  
To make mankind their slaves, to ruin the land,  
Each rogue craft in turn does the other applaud,  
So boundless their intrigue, injustice, and fraud.

With a vulturous eye to the loaves and the fishes,  
The Priesthood squeak out, what a vain world this is,  
And Kingsmen to prove that brave Britons are free,  
Trepán for the army, and press for the sea.

When those fiends of Deceit had outstript the Devil,  
'Midst tumults and broils, religious and civil,  
Arose Thomas Paine, free Nature's first born,  
On Kings he brought terror, on Priests he brought scorn.

With sound moral truths, their falsehood exploding  
The monsters roar'd out, his attacks well foreboding,  
Let us rally our forces, affecting disdain,  
And crush Reason's sons, who follow Tom Paine.

They may crush, persecute, imprison, and fine,  
But the more Truth's opposed, the more it will shine,  
And Time soon shall prove all their efforts are vain,  
When mankind discover the beauties of Paine.

Yes, Paine, the immortal! whom tyrants abused,  
Yes, Paine, the immortal! has man's rights diffused,  
Paine's genius shall flourish the whole world around,  
Paine's genius *doth* flourish though Paine is not found.



#### BIRMINGHAM.

IN this very populous town due honour was done to the memory of Thomas Paine, by forming a Paine Club, which we predict will outlive all the Pitt and Fox Clubs in the country. As the spirit of the meeting corresponded, as near as possible, with those in other places, and as we have not been requested to insert any report of the proceedings, nor been furnished with any on which we can rely as authentic, we make way for those that will not find insertion in any other publication.



#### MANCHESTER.

THE Republicans of Manchester, as many as could be accommodated, assembled at the house of William Walker. JAMES THOMPSON was called to the Chair. In rising to commence the business of the evening he observed, it would be unnecessary for him to make a long harangue, or to attempt to describe a character, the particulars of which he trusted every one present, was well acquainted with. He should propose to drink:—

1. To the Memory of the immortal Thomas Paine.

James Wheeler shortly addressed the company, urging them to unite under the common title of Citizens, and not indulge in the paltry designations of Carlileites, or Huntites, or Paineites, or Cobbetites; which could lead to nothing but factions and factious proceedings. A complete Representative System of Government, or Republicanism, was the only system worth contending for, and those who will not come up to it, had better go back and support the system of Pitt. The future historian will view the present struggle as that between the principles of Pitt and Paine, and such has evidently been the struggle these last thirty years. There is no midway name, that could hold its head up for a moment, and no party between those two, that will be recollected twenty years hence. Pitt's name will crumble into oblivion as having been the curse of mankind, whilst power was connected with it, whilst the name and principles of Paine will go on to shine more and more refulgent.

Mr. Wheeler sat down and sung, "The mighty Thomas Paine," &c. Tune, Auld lang syne.



2. Richard Carlile, the Disciple of Thomas Paine.

Song, by James Houlby.—“Man free by Nature.”

In the course of the evening all the toasts and sentiments in No. 4, of the Republican, were drank.

Song, by John Gratrix.—“When Freedom first in France appeared.”

Song, by Mary Barlow.—“United we stand, divided we fall.” Written by Richard Hayes, of Blackburn.

3. May Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, soon return and convey the Enemies of this Country to St. Helena, according to his Promise.

Song, by Charles Kneasley.—“Book appears to Book.”

Song, by Mary Walker.—“Millions be free.”

4. Henry Hunt, the Dungeon-proof Radical, and may he come out safe and without an Hereditary Cancer.

Song, by John Gratrix.—“Hail! Henry Hunt, in the dark Day of Danger.”

5. Jane Carlile, and her infant Son, Thomas Paine; to which was added by the Females, “A Safe Delivery with the Next.”

Song, by Mary Barlow.—“The Philadelphia Lawyer.”

Charles Kneasley then rose and addressed the company as follows:—

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens—I acknowledge I am exceedingly gratified to behold so many of my fellow-townsmen, men of common sense and reason, gathered together to celebrate the birth-day of one of the wisest, noblest, and best of men that ever trod on English ground: still I confess I feel a degree of sorrow and shame whilst I stand amongst you, not because I am found here celebrating the birth-day of Mr. Paine—no; not because I am an advocate and an admirer of both the political and theological principles of Thomas Paine—no; my sorrow and shame arise from another idea; I am ashamed that I was once found to ridicule the name of the immortal Paine, and to stigmatize his writings as untrue. But this ridicule and stigma I do not consider as an act of my own, it was the effects of the instruction of my youth; I was taught from my childhood to join with the poet, or rather the fool, and sing,

Cheer up, cheer up, my lively lads,

And let us join in singing;

When Thomas Paine is in the flames

We'll set the bells a ringing.

The first time I took the Age of Reason into my hand to read, my heart was full of prejudice and superstition; I fully believed it to contain nothing but lies and blasphemy; it was with fear that I touched it; I searched its contents with diligence in full expectation to find out Mr. Paine's errors; I referred to the passages in the Bible: but, oh! astonished was I when I could not find what I began to search for, viz. lies and blasphemy. I confess when I had searched and proved Mr. Paine's assertions in his Age of Reason, I was like a man in a ditch; I could not believe the Age of Reason because of superstition the parson and the instructor of my youth had crammed into me from my cradle; and I dared not disbelieve the Bible for fear of the Devil, hell, and damnation, which I had heard pronounced against unbelievers. I then resolved to read and search for myself, and began to see if the books ascribed to Moses were written by Moses: but when I found the four books ascribed to him contained accounts of circumstances four hundred years before Moses was born, and also of circumstances as long after his death, how could I, or any other man of common sense, believe Moses to be the writer of the books? Therefore, as the translators have not informed us who the writers were, I consider them to be without authenticity; and on this ground I venture to disbelieve them, either as the writing of Moses or the Word of God. The book ascribed

to Joshua declares Joshua to have stopped the sun. Before I believe this story I will know by whom the book of Joshua was written. It is quite evident from the 31st verse of the 24th chapter, that the book could not be written till after the death of Joshua; and it will be nonsense to say it was written before the death of the Elders that overlived Joshua. The passage runs thus: "And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the Elders that overlived Joshua." Where is the man of common sense and reason that will say this book was written by Joshua? The book itself proves that Joshua was not the writer; therefore we know not who it is that has told the tale; and none but fools and fanatics will believe it. The next subject I shall call your attention to is the passages in the Old called prophecies in the New Testament, although the word Jesus, or Christ, is not mentioned from Genesis to Malachi. In searching the pretended prophecies of Christ in the New Testament and comparing them with the passages in the Old Testament, I not only satisfied myself there was no prophecies of Christ, but by searching and examining I found that some of these pretended prophecies were false, both in premises and inference; for the proof of this assertion I refer you to the 7th chapter of the prophet Isaiah; the passage runs thus. "Behold a virgin, or, (as the original says) a young woman shall be with child, and bear a son, and call his name Immanuel." This is called a prophecy in the New Testament of Christ. If you refer to the above-mentioned chapter you will find upon what subject Isaiah spake these words, it is as follows: "Judah or Jerusalem is likely to be surrounded by two armies, the army of Israel and the army of Syria. These tidings come to king Ahaz, king of Judah, and the heart of the king and the hearts of his people was moved as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind." According to the 3d verse, the Lord sends Isaiah to meet Ahaz; in the 4th verse, Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, encourages Ahaz not to be afraid; and in the 7th verse, Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, declares that the project of the two armies shall not prosper nor come to pass; and then, in the 11th verse, Isaiah wishes King Ahaz to ask a sign of the Lord, but he refuses to ask a sign. King Ahaz appears to disbelieve Isaiah's prophecy; Isaiah then in a rage declares, in the 14th verse, that "The Lord himself shall give them a sign: Behold a young woman shall be with child, and bear a son, and call his name Immanuel: butter and honey shall he eat that he may refuse the evil and choose the good." And then Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, declares that "Before that child should have knowledge to refuse the evil and choose the good, that both the king of Israel and the king of Syria shall be driven from their kingdoms." This child was to be a sign to Ahaz, and not a prophecy of one to be born five hundred years afterwards. But now for the truth of this prophecy. If you refer to the 28th chapter of the second book of Chronicles, you will find, from the account given of the armies of Israel and Syria, that all the farce of Isaiah to Ahaz is false, although Isaiah declared, in the name of the Lord, that the projects of the two armies should not prosper; yet the 5th verse of this chapter says, "That the king of Syria besieged Judah, and smote the people, and carried a great multitude of them captives and brought them to Damascus." The 6th verse declares that Pekah, king of Israel, slew in Judah one hundred and twenty thousand in one day. In searching those pretended prophecies of Christ, and finding that not one of them referred to Christ, and that many of them were false prophecies, I came to the determination to throw off the galling yoke of priestcraft and superstition, and imbibed the belief of one God, or the theological principles of Thomas Paine. When the instructors of my youth came to know that I had renounced the Christian faith, and



the belief of the Bible to be the word of God, they did not meet me with argument and point out my errors; all they could do was to threaten me with hell and damnation. This only served to confirm me in my new principles. If we turn our attention back to the days of the immortal Paine, we find that the pretended Christians did not meet him with argument; they drove him from the land by force, and caused his effigy to be burnt in every town in England. When we view our hero Carlile, his wife, and sister, contending with the Christians of our day, nothing but force, and dungeons, and chains, is the Christian protector. Their cause is bad; it will not bear examining. Hypocrisy and falsehood is its foundation; and reason and common sense will be its destroyers. Therefore let us as fellow-citizens strive together, in the face of persecution, dungeons, and chains, to spread reason and common sense through our land, so that we and our children may be free from the iron yoke of Oppression, and our minds free from priestcraft and superstition. It was my intention to have spoken more, on the subject of politics, but I have taken up so much of your time already, and there are men in the room whose abilities are more adequate for the purpose than mine, I shall conclude by saying, let Liberty or Death be our motto.

This speech excited great interest, as the speaker had been until very lately a local Preacher in the Methodist connection, and had his eyes opened entirely by James Wheeler putting the Theological Works of Paine in his hands.

6. He proposed the health of Mary Ann Carlile, and Prosperity to all the Family.

James Houlby gave as a sentiment the following lines from Swift:—

7. "From the bottom of my heart I hate  
Despotic Kings and Ministers of State."

Song.—"Bruce's Address."

8. Charles Wolseley, commonly called Sir Charles Wolseley, Treasurer of the Great Northern Union.

9. Politics of Paine—Theology of Mirabaud.

Frederick Faulkner addressed the meeting, and concluded with giving "The memories of Mirabaud, Voltaire, and Volney."

James Wheeler then read two placards and a letter from Leeds.

10. By the Chairman.—The Republicans of Leeds, and may their Example be followed throughout England.

Song.—"God save the Rights of Man," in full chorus.

11. The Lancashire Witches.

Song, by James Houlby.

12. May Revolutions never cease whilst Tyrants exist.

13. By William Walker.—May the Principles, (both Political and Theological) advocated in this Room to-night take Root and spread all over England.

14. By the Chairman.—William Campion, and thanks to him for his bold and manly assistance to James Wheeler during his late trying struggle about his Correspondences.

Mr. Wheeler returned thanks and said, that it was he who was most indebted to Campion, and he should never be able to reward him, for by his assistance he had been able to overcome and defeat the intrigues of his enemies and pretended friends, who were now writhing under the effects of their bad and disappointed passions. He could wish that Campion had been present to have made a better acknowledgment, he was prevented from attending, but will never fail to do all he can to assist the cause.

15. Mary Walker, and thanks to her for the Accommodation free of Expence.

Mary Walker rose and said they were welcome at any time to use her house for such patriotic meetings.

The Chairman being about to leave the chair, his health was drank as one of the oldest and staunchest Republicans and Deists in Manchester, for which he briefly returned thanks.

Many other songs and toasts were given, but our limits defy us.



### STOCKPORT.

SIR,

THE Republicans of Stockport assembled in various places to celebrate the natal day of Mr. Paine, whom Englishmen ought to consider the greatest man their island ever produced, and according to your desire those excellent toasts and sentiments published in No. 4, of "The Republican," were given, and received with the warmest enthusiasm, as also many other appropriate toasts and songs on the occasion: Some of which I am particularly requested to forward to you, if you think them worthy a niche in the pages of "The Republican," the proposers will think themselves highly favoured.

1. Mr. Richard Carlile, his Wife and Sister, and may they triumphantly leave their unmerited dungeons, and exult over their dastardly and cowardly persecutors. 3 times 3.

2. May the principles of Thomas Paine, which we are this night met to celebrate, be extended over the Globe, and speedily be acted upon.

3. May every honest Republican soon have the pleasure of seeing every Priest and superstitious Bigot become good Citizens.

4. William Cobbett, and may he soon see the propriety of adopting and disseminating the opinion of Thomas Paine.

5. The Captive of Ilchester, Sir Charles Wolseley, and the great Northern Union, and may their pens, and the funds of the Union soon be appropriated to the patriotic purpose of destroying Priestcraft and promulgating the doctrines of unsophisticated Republicanism. 3 times 3.

6. Mr. Wooler, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Knight, Mr. Davison, and the old veteran Mr. Burtenshaw, who has just left his dungeon, after two years imprisonment, and in the 70th year of his age, and may they live to enjoy the reward of their labours.

7. May the Republicans of England never cease their exertions until they have obtained justice for the wanton, cruel, barbarous, and horrid Massacre committed on the Plains of St. Peter's, August 16, 1819.

This was received in solemn silence, after which a gentleman gave the following Song which was composed for the last Anniversary of the 16th of August, 1819.

Pitiful, I behold St. Peter's,  
Pitiful, oh! pitiful, oh!  
Saw the sad distorted features,  
Pitiful, oh! pitiful, oh!  
Gazed upon the fiends back'd by knavery,  
Rivetted the chains of Britain's slavery,  
Saw the mad blood thirsty creatures,  
Pitiful, oh! pitiful, oh!

Cruelly I beheld them trample,  
Cruelly, oh! cruelly, oh!  
Saw them set the dire example,  
Cruelly, oh! cruelly, oh!



If the hirelings' pranks be requited,  
By a Tyrant's thanks be united,  
Prepare to shew them vengeance ample,  
Cruelly, oh! cruelly, oh!

Terribly will the tyrants tremble,  
Terribly, oh! terribly, oh!  
When their victims they resemble,  
Terribly, oh! terribly, oh!  
Soon shall Freedom's sons be rewarded,  
And the Tyrant's thanks be unregarded;  
Gladly would the knaves dissemble,  
Terribly, oh! terribly, oh!

Liberty, thou shalt be our motto,  
Liberty, oh! Liberty, oh!  
We'll shout through mountain, vale, and grotto,  
Liberty, oh! Liberty, oh!  
'Tis slavery alone that can harm us,  
Liberty alone that can charm us,  
Loud through Palace, Town, and Cot, oh!  
Liberty, oh! Liberty, oh!

There were many other songs and toasts on the occasion, but these are the general outline.

Yours, respectfully,  
WILLIAM PERRY.



### STOKESLEY, YORKSHIRE.

A FEW of the Lovers of Civil and Religious Freedom, met in this Town, on the evening of the 29th of January, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Birth-day of Mr. Paine.

Mr. JOHN APPLETON, (aged 76) in the Chair.

After partaking of a plain Supper, as most consistent with the plan of Republican economy, the following toasts and sentiments were given:

1. The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, the Masterpiece of Nature, the most useful man that ever lived.

Song:—"Come, all ye true Republicans," being the Ranter's Hymn, No. 42, *parodied* for the occasion.

2. Richard Carlile, the most consistent and straight forward Advocate for the Liberty and Happiness of the human Race.

3. The persecuted Family and Shopmen of Mr. Carlile, and may they live to see their Injuries redressed.

4. The Sovereignty of the People.

5. Major Cartwright.

6. William Cobbett, and may he soon come up to the full support of the principles of Paine.

7. Henry Hunt, the brave Captive of Ilchester, and may he soon come up to the full support of the principles of Paine.

8. The Memory of Daniel Isaac Eaton, the martyr to Deism.

Many other Toasts and Sentiments were given, too numerous to mention, amongst which were Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Wooler, Alderman Wood, Lord Cochrane, General Bolivar, Success to the Patriots of Spain, To the revived Republicans, Health to our Neighbours the Republicans of Stockton, &c.

The following was proposed by Mr. J. Coates, and drank in pure water.

Perdition to all intoxicating Liquors, the prime Cause of all the domestic Mis-  
chief, Misery, and Slavery in this Island.

Vol. V. No. 8.

## NEWGATE.

In Newgate the four brave shopmen of Mr. Carlile regaled themselves, and drank their toasts and sang their songs.

The following was composed by Mr. Holmes for the occasion :—

## SONG.

*Composed by W. V. Holmes.*

When the bright beams of Truth all their splendour bestowing,  
With convincing proofs on our reason shall pour,  
And Paine's glorious maxims like suns shall be glowing,  
Oh then, King and Priestcraft, you'll blast us no more.

When those dogmas which fanatics constantly cherish  
Shall flee before Truth, and their fiction be o'er,  
And religion with all its base cruelties perish,  
Oh then, King and Priestcraft, you'll blast us no more.

When the smile of Fraternity is seen on all faces,  
And Bigotry's reign in our bosoms be o'er,  
When the clear Sun of Freedom illumines all places,  
Oh then, King and Priestcraft, you'll blast us no more.

## THE PROGRESS OF TRUTH.

*By the Same.*

Keen Murray and Pritchard are striving to gain  
A victory o'er truth, and its progress to stay,  
But they must acknowledge their efforts are vain,  
And it still marches on with all-conquering sway.

It shall triumph in spite of their wicked designs,  
In vain they the aid of their patrons implore ;  
See, see, o'er the earth it triumphantly reigns,  
And Murray and Pritchard can touch us no more.

### CASE OF MR. DAVID RIDGEWAY, OF MANCHESTER, NOW A PRISONER IN LANCASTER CASTLE.

In spite of all ideas of decency in law, and in our Courts of Law, the Constitutional Association has brought up Mr. Ridgeway for judgment ; and those vile panders to corruption in the Court of King's Bench have sentenced him to one year's imprisonment in Lancaster Castle, and to find sureties for three years at the expiration of that time!

Mr. Ridgeway was an industrious tradesman in Manchester, with a large family, and by way of increasing their



comforts, in addition to his trade of a Fustian Cutter, he took orders for Newspapers, Books, and Pamphlets. It has been falsely insisted upon and falsely sworn by the Manchester Police Officers, that he was in the habit of selling my publications without waiting for orders for them; but I have no hesitation to support the assertions of Mr. Ridgeway, by saying, that from all I can infer from his letters, and the general run of his orders for my publications, it appears to me that he never ordered any thing unless he had first an order for it in Manchester. It is possible he might have exposed some of them in his window, which is no uncommon practice in all trades with bespoke goods, for the purpose of drawing fresh orders; but I have every reason to think that he never exceeded in his orders the orders he had received. As to the swearing of the Manchester Police to the contrary, it might answer the purposes and views of the panders in the Court of King's Bench, but no person who knows their general characters would believe them, either in word or oath. Of the readiness of such wretches to swear any thing they are asked or ordered, I need only to mention what happened during the last Old Bailey Sessions, in London, in the case of Joseph Rhodes, of Manchester, who has acted as one of my shopmen.

Joseph Rhodes was one of those arrested, at the instance of the Constitutional Association, in my shop without a name. He persisted in refusing to give up his name, and went to Prison to wait the result of his arrest. It appears the Society had laid three indictments in three different names, and one in a name unknown. When the men were called upon to plead there were two of them, Joseph Rhodes and Humphrey Boyle, who heard nothing resembling their names on any of the indictments, and consequently refused to plead. In the case of Rhodes, the Society brought forward Cooper, an Officer, to swear that his name was William Holmes, and the Court forced him to plead to that name, at least, so confused him by menace of one kind and another, that he, not knowing what to do in the matter, pleaded not guilty, whereas he was never called or known by such a name before, and what is still more strange, his right name has been repeatedly mentioned in my publications, and his coming from Manchester fully stated.

No sooner had Cooper, the Officer, retired from the bar, than Bland, the Marshalman, (I believe) accosted him with "*By God, Cooper, you have sworn to my man; you are wrong!*" Now, will the Court of Sessions, or the Law

Officers of the city, prosecute Cooper for perjury? He was told to swear to this man, and sent for by the Counsel for the prosecution purposely to swear to him, and came and did it without any hesitation. This is a specimen of what Police Officers can do. It is an infamous practice to allow them as evidences in any case, much more in a case where their patrons are the interested prosecutors. It is notorious that they are themselves the dregs and refuse of society, and that there is no such thing as a moral and honest man among them. They are a part of the fungus generated by corrupt Governments since Despotism has been driven by popular knowledge to insidious and hypocritical measures. Yet, in the Court of King's Bench, in the case of Mr. Ridgeway, their affidavits were preferred to the affidavits of honest and industrious householders! Scroggs and Jefferies will merit monuments, and civic crowns, and every other kind of laurel, when their histories are contrasted with those of the present Judges of the Court of King's Bench! The course of this prosecution has entailed on Mr. Ridgeway a ruinous expence. He has thrown himself into the hands of Lawyers, and has suffered them to manage his defence in their own way. I do not complain that these Lawyers have not given him fair play; they have done every thing that Lawyers could do, and that at very moderate charges; in fact, they have been generous towards him, for if a full Lawyer's bill had been made out, his charges would have been £200. However, as it stands, it forms an instance of the folly and inutility of employing a Lawyer in a case of libel, particularly for so simple a pamphlet as that on which Mr. Ridgeway has been prosecuted. He might have defended every sentence in it with credit and honour to himself, instead of attempting to shew that he had never sold it. I beg leave to state that I have never, from first to last, been consulted about the prosecution, or I should have advised a very different course. Mr. Ridgeway has been advised as far as possible to disavow any connection with me, and I doubt not, from the manner in which it has been done, in addition to his Lawyer's bill, it has doubled his imprisonment. He is naturally an honest, inoffensive man, and it would not have shewn him different in the eyes of the world if he had avowed the sale of the pamphlet, and made a full defence of it. I am sure he would have got off with more credit and less imprisonment. I am sorry for him, he has been badly advised. After my sister had been acquitted of malicious intention for publishing the whole edition of the



same pamphlet, Mr. Ridgeway had every thing in his favour for defence. He might have defended his conduct entirely upon the precedent of what had passed in London, for it is monstrous that the original publisher should be considered not guilty of a malicious intention in publishing a whole edition of a pamphlet and reprinting a second, and that a country vendor, for taking an order for and getting one copy, shall be imprisoned twelve months in addition to an expence which must beggar him if it be not made up by public subscription. This is one of the anomalies of Libel Law. Nothing in legislation or administration of Law can be conceived more odious.

Dr. Stoddart, the Editor of the New Times, and the organ of the Bridge Street Gang, has falsely asserted, by way of apology for bringing up Ridgeway for judgment, that the trial of Mary Ann Carlile for publishing the whole edition of the same pamphlet is only suspended, and whether it comes on again or not will depend on, whether she shews a becoming contrition or not. This is horrible as a malicious falsehood. The Gang themselves have threatened another trial upon the same indictment, but it was altogether a paltry bravado and menace to cover a little of the disgrace they incurred.

Dr. Stoddart knew well, and the Committee of the Bridge Street Gang knew well, that it has never been their intention to move for a new trial, although the falsehood has been publicly stated. They had not the least ground for moving, and Mr. Cooper, the Defendant's Counsel, always treated the menace with contempt. The case was this: the intemperate Best was the Judge on the trial, and when he found the composition of the Jury was not sufficiently corrupt for his purposes, he staid away the next morning and sent Holroyd. As soon as Holroyd came to the Court, he sent a note to Mr. Cooper at his chambers, requesting his attendance in Court, for the purpose of consenting to the breaking up of the Jury, with a distinct pledge that the case should end there. This was the condition on which Mr. Cooper consented to a *nolle prosequi*, whilst the eight Jurors in the Defendant's favour were enraged at being separated without returning a verdict of Not Guilty. Stoddart, Murray, and Sharpe, contradict this if you can. The contrition that I and my sister will shew you shall be the same as you have had heretofore.

Accustomed as I have been to prosecutions, I was really surprized to see the New Year's Address the subject of one.

The passages selected amount to nothing as an incitement to popular anger and insurrection, but the very reverse. I stated that "Reform would be obtained when the existing Authorities had no longer the power to withhold it, and not before, and that we should gain it as early without petitioning as with it." By this I meant to advise the Reformers to give themselves no further trouble about petitioning, to keep at home and not waste their time for such purposes; and this upon the principle, that the present Government is working its own destruction, and will shortly break up as a matter of inevitable necessity, when the Reformers will be left to form a new Government to their own mind. It was upon the same view that I used the expression, "I will not say a word about insurrection at this moment; but be ready and steady to meet any concurrent circumstances." Nothing can be possibly less objectionable to any party than this, for the whole is an incitement to order, patience, and quietude. Such, in fact, is the drift of the whole pamphlet, and if the Members of the Bridge Street Gang, or the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, can enjoy themselves in the idea of having incarcerated a husband, a father of a large family, and a honest, industrious tradesman, for taking an order for such a pamphlet, none need envy their feelings and powers. But few, I believe, do envy them.

The case of Mr. Ridgeway is a case which demands the sympathy of every honest man and woman in the country. He is the first victim to the conspiracy of the Gang in Bridge Street, and was it only for this, he and his family ought to be made as comfortable as money can make them. He is a man truly worthy of support, as a moral, virtuous, and honest tradesman, and a man who, I believe, from all the information I can get of him, has not one single action of his life wherewith he might reproach himself as having done an injury to any one. The Judges of the Court of King's Bench may prate about sedition and blasphemy, but it would be well for them, and the country at large, if their minds, their morals, and their consciences were as pure as those of David Ridgeway, whom they have sent to Lancaster Castle.

The Lawyer's bill is inserted here, as a beacon against all further employment of Lawyers. There is no complaint to make against any of the charges, but their manner of doing things is such as should deter any application to them upon such a subject without defining what they shall do and how far they shall go.



## MESSRS. CANDELET AND WALKER,

*To Edward Foulkes and Sons, Dr.*

£. s. d.

ATTENDING upon you as to the Friends and sureties for the Defendant, and advising as to an Indictment preferred against David Ridgway for selling a seditious libel, and as to the Defence, when you desired me to get a copy of the Information. . . 0 3 6

## EASTER TERM, 1821.

Agents attending to instruct Clerks in Court . . .	0	6	8
Paid filing recognizance . . . . .	0	7	4
Paid on appearing to Indictment . . . . .	0	4	8
Controlling appearance . . . . .	0	3	8
Paid for office copy of Indictment, folio 23 and Duty .	0	16	0
Paid portorage for same from Crown Office . . . . .	0	0	6
Close copy of Indictment . . . . .	0	7	8
Term fee, Clerk in Court, and Solicitor . . . . .	0	13	4
Letters and Messengers . . . . .	0	6	0

## TRINITY TERM.

Attending to instruct Clerk in Court . . . . .	0	6	8
Accepting and transmitting Rules to Plead; Clerk in Court and Solicitor . . . . .	0	6	8
The like for peremptory Rule . . . . .	0	6	8
Paid portorage same from Crown Office . . . . .	0	0	6
Instructions for Plea . . . . .	0	6	8
Paid on Pleading not Guilty . . . . .	0	4	1
Paid Controlling Plea . . . . .	0	3	4
Close Copy of Plea . . . . .	0	1	0
Paid for Office Copy Issue, folio 33 and Duty . . . .	1	3	3
Paid Portorage same from Crown Office . . . . .	0	0	6
Close Copy Issue . . . . .	0	11	0
Portorage and booking same . . . . .	0	1	2
Ingrossing the Rule . . . . .	0	11	0
Fee on Plea, Clerk in Court and Solicitor . . . . .	0	6	8
Accepting and transmitting notice of Trial, Clerk in Court and Solicitor . . . . .	0	6	8
Term fee, Clerk in Court, and Solicitor . . . . .	0	13	4
Letters and Messengers . . . . .	0	6	0

## VACATION.

Close copy Rule for Special Jury . . . . .	0	2	0
Attending nomination of Forty-eight Special Jury . .	0	6	8
Paid Clerk in Court . . . . .	0	6	8

Carried forward

9 19 10

	Brought forward	9 19 10
Paid for Copy List . . . . .		0 5 0
Close Copy . . . . .		0 5 0
Attending appointment to reduce Special Jury List . . . . .		0 6 8
Paid Clerk in Court . . . . .		0 6 8
Copy of reduced List . . . . .		0 2 6
Letters and Messengers . . . . .		0 6 0
Several attendances on you, advising as to the necessary Evidence to be produced, and as to the Defence . . . . .		1 1 0
Instructions for Brief . . . . .		0 6 8
Attending at Defendants in Swarbrick Street to view the house; and Drawing Brief, 14 Sheets . . . . .		4 13 4
Two fair Copies thereof . . . . .		4 13 4
Attending Mr. Brougham with Brief . . . . .		0 6 8
Paid him and Clerk . . . . .		5 10 0
Attending Mr. Evans with Brief . . . . .		0 6 8
Paid him and Clerk . . . . .		3 5 6
Attending to mark Cause defended . . . . .		0 6 8
Paid Court fees as under, (viz) Marshall Tipstaff . . . . .		1 12 0
Prothonotary's fees . . . . .		1 16 0
Journey to Lancaster, to superintend trial of this Cause absent 11 days when a verdict was given against the Defendant, paid Coach-fare, and expences, should be 2 Guineas a day, but we say only half that sum . . . . .		11 11 0
Very many enquiries as to the Jury, and writing to Liverpool, Bury, Bolton, &c. as to the political sentiments and character of several of the Jury, no charge.		
Paid Postage of Letters . . . . .		2 8 0
Postage of a Letter from Messrs. Taylor and Co. saying, the Jury had not all concurred in the verdict, requesting we would make the necessary enquiries . . . . .		0 11 0
Journey to Leigh to speak to Mr. Leigh one of the Jury, 14 miles, horse hire and expenses . . . . .		1 5 0
Writing to Messrs. Taylor and Co. in answer . . . . .		0 3 6
30th Oct. Drawing affidavits of Defendant, James and Maria Daniel, folio 9.....		0 9 0
Ingrossing same.....		0 4 6
Duty and Oaths.....		0 5 7
Postage of a Letter from Messrs. E. Taylor and Co. . . . .		0 0 11
Answering same.....		0 3 6
Two Brief copies of affidavits, two sheets each.....		1 6 8
Writing to them with affidavits and Brief copies, and paid booking parcel, &c. . . . .		0 3 8
Drawing affidavits of Ann Whittingham and Mary Ann Murdock, folio 7.....		0 7 0
	Carried forward	54 8 10



	Carried forward	54	8	10
	Ingrossing same .....	0	3	6
	Duty and Oaths.....	0	4	7
	Two Copies for Counsel, two sheets each.....	1	6	8
	Drawing Affidavit in contradiction of Mellor, folio 8..	0	8	0
	Ingrossing .....	0	4	0
	Duty and Oaths.....	0	4	7
	Two Copies, two sheets each.....	1	6	8
	Writing with same to London, booking parcel and por- terage.....	0	3	8
	Attending Court of King's Bench, and afterwards on Messrs. Taylor and Co. ....	1	1	0
	Drawing affidavits of P. T. Candelet, Samuel Johnson, Edward Fallows, and James Walker, folio 10.....	0	10	0
	Ingrossing same, 5s. duty and four Oaths 6s .7d. ....	0	11	7
	Attending to get them sworn thereto.....	0	3	4
	Drawing Affidavits of Mrs. Ridgway, her Daughter, and Joseph Ashton, folio 8, 8s. Duty and paper 2s. 7d.	0	10	7
	Ingrossing same .....	0	4	0
	Attending to get them sworn thereto and paid for Oaths .....	0	6	4
	Writing to London, therewith 3s. 6d. bill of costs and copy, 2s.....	0	5	6
	Letters, &c.....	0	7	6
		59	14	10
	Cash received from Messrs. Taylor and Co. London..	10	0	0
		49	14	10

I repeat again, there is no overcharge in this bill. The charges are moderate, and in addition, I should add, that it appears, the fees which were paid to Defendant's Counsel have been given to him back again; and the whole process in the two last Terms, which would have been a far greater expence than the trial and all its preparations if charged for, has been done gratuitously. In this respect the Defendant has met with friends among Lawyers: but they have done him no ultimate good, and I verily think he has six months imprisonment more than he would have had if he had pleaded his own cause by a written defence.

In the years 1819 and 20, several vendors of the Republican in London were proceeded against by the Attorney-General. Some of them came to me and asked, "How are we to proceed; so and so tells us that we can do nothing without employing a Lawyer; and that to get through the

process of the Information a grievous expence will be incurred?" I told them all not to trouble, nor to spend a sixpence in law or among Lawyers upon the matter. The first step was to get them all bailed, which we did without the payment of sixpence as a fee. I told them then they had nothing to do but to wait the issue of the trial, taking care to appear to plead Not Guilty at the proper time. They were all brought to trial for selling pamphlets, very different to that which Mr. Ridgeway sold, being the Letters to the Prince Regent in the First Volume of the Republican, and returned Guilty as a matter of course; they appeared for judgment, not one of them denied the selling of the pamphlets, but one of them actually boasted of selling 600 of the very pamphlet for which he was arraigned; and the highest punishment was six weeks, some of them got off with a month's imprisonment. They defended themselves, and pleaded the custom of their trade as newsvendors, taking orders for every thing that was published periodically, and I am not aware that any one of them was put to sixpence expence, or any other loss than a loss of time in attending the Courts and filling out the period of imprisonment. How different is the case of Mr. Ridgeway by trusting his defence to Lawyers! A hint here may not be amiss to those who are hereafter subjected to prosecution for what are called seditious or blasphemous libels. The first thing to be done is, in case of arrest, to find the necessary bail, but refuse the payment of all fees: none can be legally enforced upon the Defendant. It would be well if all persons, who may run the chance of prosecution for such publications, were beforehand prepared with two housekeepers, ready to come at any call and give bail for the party arrested, as this preparation saves much trouble and expence, most persons feeling alarm at the moment of a friend being arrested. If your case be in the Court of Quarter Session, or Court of Assize, you have only to attend at the proper time to plead and take trial, if it be removed into the Court of King's Bench you must do the same. A Defendant will do much better with a written defence, if he be not capable of making his defence orally, than by employing a Counsel, unless some clever fellow would do it without the intervention of an Attorney, a thing a Barrister does not like. They all like to have things done in form, and those forms entail a ruinous expence upon the Defendant. If you are found Guilty, and judgment be not passed immediately, you should be prepared with further bail, to be at large until judgment be passed.



There is scarce a town in the country but contains an intelligent Reformer capable of writing a defence upon any subject of the kind; but should there be a deficiency anywhere, I am ever ready, if asked to do it, in defence of any of my own agents and publications. With Mr. Ridgeway the case is decided; we have now nothing to do but to make his imprisonment as light as possible by retrieving his pecuniary losses. This can only be done by subscriptions, and it appears to me, that £200 will be the least sum that can accomplish the object in view. This sum is a trifle when divided among the Reformers, if each will throw down his mite. I have an idea that the funds of the Great Northern Union ought to be applied to such purposes, and not to that worst of all purposes, the sending men into the present Parliament. I will never advise the least subscription or support towards it until some such application of the funds be decided upon. I am convinced that the men who seek seats in Parliament from this source, do it more from personal vanity, and gratification of ambition, than from any idea of national good. I call upon the Reformers to do something for Mr. Ridgeway as an injured, honest man in their cause. To be effectual it should be done immediately, whilst he is suffering. Subscriptions for that purpose will be received by Mr. P. T. Candelet, 31, Market Street, Manchester; and if it be any convenience to persons in London, or other parts of the country, I will, through my agents in London and Manchester, receive and pay over to Mr. Candelet any sums subscribed for that purpose.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 17, 1822.

### ADDRESS TO BRITONS.

BRITONS, break your chains of slavery,

Pull Corruption's pillar down;

Trample on despotic knavery,

Drag all tyrants to the ground.

Be proudly free in Nature's charter,

Let freedom be your dearest joy;

Nor let the Priest your reason barter,

Teach it to the prattling boy.





## TO MR. R. CARLILE.

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SIR,

Bolton, February 13, 1822.

I TAKE leave to inform you that a few friends in Bolton have made up the sum of £2. 7s. 11d. and paid the same into the hands of Mr. Wheeler of Manchester on your account, and they request you to acknowledge the receipt in your printed report. Meanwhile permit your friends in Bolton to congratulate you on the victory which your undaunted, courageous, and persevering efforts has secured to you, over your cruel and unrelenting persecutors, yours is the triumph of Reason in the Temple of Truth; whilst your persecutors, by their imbecile endeavours, remind us of the emblem of the viper gnawing the file. That their malice against you personally may succeed is within the bounds of possibility, but ultimately Truth is eternal and must prevail. In the gloom of your Prison, let the prospect cheer you, that the day-spring of Reason *will* arise with conviction in her wings; that a time *will* come when men will love Virtue for her own sake, and hate Vice because it is really odious; then shall the efforts of Mr. Carlile and his family be appreciated according to their merits. Be pleased to offer to your Wife and Sister our unfeigned respects, and that you and they may preserve that determined fortitude which has hitherto signalized you, is the sincere wish of your friends in Bolton, in common with all those who disinterestedly worship the God of Nature at the shrine of Truth. If circumstances permit, we should be glad to hear from you by letter, in which case address to me, who am, for friends in Bolton,

Yours, with sincerest esteem,

JOHN HEYS, Spaw Lane, Bolton.

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## TO MR. JOHN HEYS, BOLTON.

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CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 16, 1822.

I KNOW you merit the epithet: although I have never before corresponded with you, your name and your fame have reached me through various channels.

I return you thanks, with all friends at Bolton, for the sum of money they have subscribed to my support. I have once made an appeal to the honest part of the public to support me, or themselves through me, against the united efforts of the two prosecuting gangs, the Vice and the Con-

stitutional Associations; and I have the satisfaction to say, that my appeal was effectually answered, and the support I received was such as completely defied the powers of those two Associations. I triumphed over them, and the fuss and cry they made quadrupled the circulation of my publications, and kept a continual cheering crowd around my shop windows.

I have often said that these Associations are part and parcel of the Government, and I have now called forth every necessary proof of the assertion. The Government, finding I was too strong for these Associations, has again been obliged to step forth as my combatant, and by a measure beyond law to shut up, for a second time, my shop. In the name of that chief of all Robbers, the King (I speak of his office, not his person) my shop has again been shut up, under the pretence of seizing my property to meet my fines, but in reality to check the sale of my publications. Yes, they have allowed the shop to be open above two years, since they seized a sufficient property to cover my fines, if it had been fairly disposed of, and finding that the good sense of the people supports me against the united efforts of all their underlings in association to put me down, the King himself has been again brought forward to combat with me single-handed. I will defy even his power to chain the Press that circulates my principles. I will now make it a trial of moral strength with him. To do this it is necessary that my fines be instantly paid, to put a stop to any further violent entries on my premises, and carrying off what is there, without giving me an account of what is done with it, or what it produces. Bear in mind, that in speaking of the King, I speak of his office, and those who practise their villainies in his name. The King as a person, as an individual, knows not the millionth part of what is done in his name, therefore, I make no personal allusions to him in this matter. I speak of him as his officers do, when they say the Crown has done this or that, or will do this or that. I respond to all their ways, means, and powers, that I will defy the Crown in its attempt to controul opinions, and to put down the moral right of free discussion. It now remains for me to put this defiance in execution. To do this it is my intention within the next Term to make a settlement with respect to my fines. This will be a great struggle on my part, considering the expence and persecution I have encountered, but I am put to this trial of strength and I will make it. After I have made this settlement I will defy all



prosecution. From a continual fighting we learn the art of war, and this shall be found to be my case.

I have now to call upon every friend to my principles, and upon every abhorrer of the persecutions I have encountered, to give me aid to this purpose, and to make every possible exertion for me between this time and the first of May. I shall need no subscriptions after this is accomplished, nor even now, if any capitalist, or person who is in the habit of speculating by the advance of cash, will make a loan for the purpose of meeting my fines, upon that best of all securities a deposit of property to double the amount of the loan in money. Any persons disposed to take a share of this loan to the amount of £100, will find every satisfaction as to security for principal, interest, and compensation.

Although my shop in Fleet Street is now closed, do not imagine that there is any stay to the circulation of my publications. There is a check, a lessening of chance custom, in not having a shop in so great a thoroughfare, still, all regular subscribers get supplied as before. I have agents worthy of the cause I advocate, and who act up to all my wishes. There is no stand, every thing is going well, even for the present, but I am determined to open another TEMPLE OF REASON for the example and the principle of the thing. I will do this in Fleet Street, London, from the notoriety of the situation, and from having been situated there near six years. I may be prevented from doing it for two or three months or more, but I will do it if I live another year. I mean to proceed in future upon a perfectly secure ground.

Now, Citizen, and Bolton Friends, I have introduced a subject into this letter, which, as it will be a public one, is addressed to the public at large. You, I know, will perform your share of my request. Let none wait for the example of the other. What is now to be done must be done spontaneously. The return I shall make for the support I ask will be a succession of the most valuable publications in the cheapest possible form.

The renovation I felt from the support received for the last six months had put me in a progress that alarmed the enemy, and he was obliged to make his last effort, and an appeal to his last resource. I will now settle my fines and leave him no excuse for further robbery.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

A  
**PUBLIC MEETING**  
 OF  
**THE FRIENDS OF MR. R. CARLILE,**  
 WILL BE HELD ON  
**MONDAY EVENING,**  
**FEB. 25, 1822,**  
 AT THE  
**Paul's Head Rooms,**  
 CATEATON STREET.

The attendance of the real Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty is particularly requested, that they may, by their exertions and example, render all attempts to tyrannize over the minds and consciences of men, by time-serving and self-constituted associations, entirely abortive, and repel every measure which has for its object the support of the existing system of Civil and Religious Persecution.

**SUBSCRIPTIONS WILL BE RECEIVED AT THE ROOMS.**

**CHAIR TO BE TAKEN AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.**

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**TO CORRESPONDENTS.**

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In consequence of the interruption of the regular place for publishing "The Republican," any Subscriber who will pay for any Number in advance shall find clean copies left weekly at any house appointed. Orders and cash left with any of the Members of the Committee for managing the Subscription for Mr. Carlile and Family will be duly transmitted to the Publisher. Most Pamphlet-Vendors will take orders upon these terms.

R. Carlile acknowledges the receipt of One Pound Subscription through the hands of Mr. Mann, from the Society of Faithful and Firm, at Shipley, Yorkshire, received February the 15th, for which thanks are returned; no communication having accompanied it for publication, or that required any answer.

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Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.